"A MYRROURE FOR MAGISTRATES."

CONSIDERED WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SOURCES OF SACKVILLE'S CONTRIBUTIONS.

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

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Bibliography.

"Poetical Works of Thomas Sackville"; edited by C. Chapple, London, 1820.

"Poetical Works of Thomas Sackville"; edited by R. Bell, London, 1854.

"Works of Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, with Biographical Memoir"; ed. by Reginald W. Sackville-West, London, 1859, Russell Smith.

"History of English Poetry", Warton, edition, 1848.

"Myrroure for Magistrates"

Editions:

1559, 1563, 1571	by William Baldwin.
1574	„ John Higgins.
1578	„ Thomas Blenerhasset.
1587	„ Baldwin and Higgins.
1610	„ Richard Niccols.
1815	„ Joseph Haslewood.

"Memoirs of the Peers of England" by Egerton Brydges, London, 1802.

"Godfrey of Monmouth", published by Aaron Thompson, London, 1718.

"Hall's Chronicle", Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth." Carefully Collated with the Editions of 1548 and 1550. London, 1809, Printed for J. Johnson; F. C. & J. Rivington, T. Payne, Wilkie & Robinson; Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme; Cadell and Davies, and J. Mawman.

Printed for the same company and used in preparation of this work, were, "The Chronicle of John Hardyng from the Earliest Period to Edward IV." London, 1810.

"The New Chronicles of England and France in Two Parts by Robert Fabyan. Reprinted from Pynsons Edition of 1516 the First Part Collated with the Editions of 1533, 1542 and 1559." London, 1811.

his early death and Mary's assumption of the reins of authority, completely changed the course of events.

It may be assumed, that at this time, the majority of Englishmen were Protestants, or at any rate held the opinions of Henry; but there still remained a powerful and influential body of Catholics, and these Mary drew around her, and by degrees sought to reintroduce the old catholic influences. Her marriage with Philip, son of the Emperor Charles V of Spain alienated most of her subjects from her, and the cruel murders, that followed in the wake of this marriage, completed the estrangement between sorereign and subjects. During the years 1555—8, at least three hundred victims were burned at the stake and the indignation of the people threatened to burst forth into open rebellion, when the tension was broken by Mary's death.

It was during these years of bitter persecution and national agony that the "M. for M." had its birth, and it portrays the gloominess and uncertainty of the period in a series of Legends, that are melancholy reflections upon the instability of "Fortune", the transitoriness of power and the certainty of punishment for wrong doing. The entire production is unrelieved by a single light touch. Only the tragic and dreadful find a place in the book. It was, indeed, the protest of a company of writers against existing conditions and the abuse of power by those in authority.

The Originator of the "Mirror for Magistrates".

Primarily the "M. for M." was a result of the tendancy of the times towards historical study; which, at the period when the "M. for M." came into existence was regarded as one of the most essential studies in the curriculum of a gentleman's education. Lydgate's translation "The Falls of Princes", from Boccaccio's „De Casibus Virorum et

Foeminarum Illustrium", had achieved remarkable popularity, previous to the appearance of the earliest edition of the „M. for M." Not only was this translation popular as a textbook; but from a purely business standpoint it had proved a lucrative investment for the publishers. Three editions had been published previous to the appearance of the "M. for M." in 1555; the first in 1494, the second in 1527, both by Pynson; and the last in 1554 published by Richard Tottell.

In spite of the dry, matter of fact, unimaginative translation, and the still worse poetry, the book was so eagerly read that John Wayland conceived the idea of extending the series of Legends down to modern times. With this object in view be called into consultation William Baldwin, one of the best known literary craftsmen of the period, and suggested to him the plan he had in mind; a plan it should be added, that was not because of any particular love for literature; but rather the promptings of a keen business instinct that perceived in the publication of such a work during the existing interest in historical study an excellent business venture.

Warton says that, ". . . many[1]) writers were concerned in the "M. for M."; but its primary Inventor and most distinguished contributor was Thomas Sackville, who, about 1557 formed the plan of a poem in which all the illustrions and unfortunate characters of English History, from the Conquest to the end of the fourteenth century should pass in review before him." He admits that other poets had suggested the idea of a descent into hell; but .... "the application of such a fiction to the present design is a conspicuous proof of genius and even invention."

Not Warton alone, but the majority of commentators and writers of literary history have accepted this same view of the matter and the "Mirror for Magistrates" is

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[1]) Vol. 3. Sect. 48. P. 183.

invariably referred to as "Sackville's Mirror for Magistrates."

The accuracy of the statement, however, is not in the least borne out by the facts. In Baldwin's prefatory remarks to the edition of 1559 he says: "When the printer had purposed with himself to print Lydgates book of the 'Falls of Princes' and had made pryuye thereto many both honourable and worshipful, he was consulted by dyuers of them to procure to have the storye contyneued from where as Bochas left unto this present time, chiefly of such as Fortune had dalyed with here in this ylande whyche might he as a myrrour for al men as nobles as others."

The printer importuned Baldwin to undertake the work; but be describes himself as, „declining so weighty an undertaking without assistance".

Wayland, however, was not to be deterred, and secured promises of assistance from a number of writers of the period, and eventually, Baldwin consented to take the direction of matters connected with the production.

In the preface to the edition of 1559 Baldwin says: "Seven were gathered together in one place and I resorted unto them", making a total of eight; but in the first edition we have in its entirety, that of 1559, the names of only six, including Baldwin, are to be found. A Legend attributed to Skelton is inserted, written from Memory by one of those present. Skelton died in 1529 and cannot be considered as one of the company. Haslewood suggests (Introduction P. 20) that we may expect to find each of the group a contributor to the "M. for M." and adds the names of Sackville, Dolman and Segar; all of whom were contributors to the later editions. With regard to Dolman and Segar it is mere assumption, but there is more definite information concerning Sackville. In the L'Envoy[1]) preceeding the "Induction" Baldwin reports a conversation between the

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[1]) Vol. 2. Part. 3. P. 307. Hasl. Edition.

writers for the "M. for M."; which took place at one of the meetings, where the Legends came up for criticism; and where the characters were assigned.

"Then said one I have here the "Duke of Buckingham's", King Richard's chief Instrument written by maister Thomas Sackville." "Read it we pray you said they." "With a good will quoth I." "But first you shall hear this Induction." "Hath he made a preface said one: What meaneth he thereby, seeing that none hath used the like order?" "I will tell you the cause thereof sayd I; which is this: after that he understood that some of the counsayl would not suffer the book to be printed in such order as we had agreed and determined, he proposed to have gotten at my hands all the tragedies that were before the 'Duke of Buckingham's', which he would have preserved in one Volume and from that time backward, even to the time of William the Conqueror, he determined to continue and perfect all the story himself in such order as Lydgate (following Bochas) had already used. And therefore to make a meete Induction into the matter, he devised this poesie which (in my judgement) is so well planned, that I would not have any verse thereof left out of our Volume."

The remark, "... the Counsayl would not permit it to be printed"; has reference to the edition of 1555 which was suppressed by order of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor of England.

Baldwin refers to Gardiner's interference, when he says: "Work was begun and part of it printed in Queen Mary's time, but staid by such as were in office."

Sackville was undoubtedly one of the original group and the conversation indicates the extent of the plan he had in mind for his contribution to the "M. for M."; a plan, which, unfortunately he was not destined to carry to completion.

At the same time, there is no indication that he was in the slightest degree considered by the other contributors

as leader; on the other hand, there is a general recognition of Baldwin as the one who had direction of the work. He is the one who reports in the "L'Envoy", the conversations that took place among the contributors and further remarks. ".... They all agreed that I should usurp Bochas rome and the wretched princes complain unto me, and took upon themselves every man for his part to be sundry personages and in theyr behalfs to bewaile unto me theyr grevous chances, heavy distinies."

Only two pages of the first edition of the "M. for M." are in existence, so thoroughly did the servants of Gardiner perform their office. These consist of the title page which reads "A Memorial of suche Princes as since the tyme of King Richarde the Seconde, have been unfortunate in the Realme of England. Edited by W. B." and the first eighteen stanzas of the Legend of "Owen Glendower" with the signature T. Ch. (Thomas Chaloner).

Sir Egerton Brydges suggests that Warton in his reference to Sackville as[1]) "Primary Inventor", was ambiguous; yet, he says "... there is some justification for this statement if he meant to apply this term to the only part to which the praise of invention could apply, i. e.: the plan of Sackville."

The general idea of Sackville, however, was a borrowed one, original only in its application to the design of the "M. for M." Aside from the contributions of Sackville, it must be admitted there is practically nothing in the entire work, beyond the dry, unpoetical relation of historical detail. It is history in verse, without any attempt to adorn the facts as they were related in the chronicles. But an innovation was certainly introduced by Baldwin by means of the device of connecting each Legend by a prose L'Envoy, which makes a connected whole and gives a sort of epic form to the work.

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[1]) Private letter to Haslewood.

Warton was ignorant of, at any rate he entirely refrains from reference to the edition of 1555 and further as Haslewood says "... he refers to the "Induction" being printed in 1559 when its earliest appearance was in the edition of 1563. He copies the title of the edition for 1559, then extracts Baldwin's "Dedication" from that of 1563 as from the same."

It is not improbable that for a part of this error at any rate, Niccols the last contributor to the "M. for M." is responsible; for he changed the Induction to the beginning of the Legends of all the writers and says, that Sackville—" .... left the dispose of the work to Baldwin, Ferrars and others being called to work for the state."

Niccols first edition appeared in 1610, or fifty five years after the first appearance of the "M. for M.", so it is extremely improbable that he possessed any knowledge of the original plans or of the contributors themselves. It may be construed as a desire on Niccols part to give preeminent place to the most distinguished of the company who collaborated in the production of the "M. for M." From present knowledge of the facts, however, he was entirely wrong in his assumption that Sackville was the moving spirit in the production of the "M. for M."

Concerning the Editions of the "Mirror for Magistrates".

In 1559, when the elevation of Elizabeth to the throne guaranteed security and protection, the first complete edition of the „M. for M." was published. It contained nineteen Legends concerning characters selected from the period of English history when the houses of York and Lancaster were fighting for supremacy, and had the following title.

"A Myrroure for Magistrates" wherein may he seen by example of other, with how greuous plages vices are punished: and howe frayle and vnstable worldly prosperitie is founde, even of those whom Fortune seemeth most highly to fauour.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula *cautum* anno 1559. Londini in aedibus Thomas Marshe, 92, Leaves.

In addition to Skelton, who may be regarded as a questionable participator; Baldwin, Ferrars, Cavyll, Chaloner and Phaer were contributors; Baldwin probably writing at least twelve of the Legends; Ferrars, three, and the remaining one each. Owing to the uncertainty regarding the reception of the work by the authorities; the names of the writers were not given in this edition. It was not until 1571 that the names were affixed to the Legends by Ferrars, Cavyll, Chaloner and Phaer. Previous to this, however, another edition had appeared in 1563 which contained the nineteen Legends of 1559 and eight additional Legends and the "Induction". Dolman, Segar, Churchyard and Sackville are new contributors; while Ferrars and Cavyll each contributed another Legend; and Baldwin subscribed two. This edition and that of 1571 were published by Thomas Marshe. The only changes made in the edition of 1571 is the arrangement in chronological order of the Legend of "Somerset" and the addition of the full signatures of most of the authors, already referred to.

The best legitimate attempt to enlarge the work was made in the first edition of 1574, which commences with a dedicatory Epistle to the nobility and an address to the reader. The author, John Higgins, attempts an imitation of Sackville by presenting an "Induction", which is followed by sixteen Legends all the work of Higgins.

The Induction introduces Morpheus as the servant of Somnus and the guide of Higgins, whom he leads to a „goodly hall," where the ghosts of the unfortunate appear

to him and bewail their unhappy fate. There is nothing commendable in the poetry of Higgins "Induction" and the conception is but a poor imitation of the earlier production by Sackville. Higgins selected his characters from the mythical period of British history, commencing with Albanact the son of Brutus and continuing down to the invasion of Britain by Caesar.

Another Edition appeared during this same year entitled "The Last Parte of the Mirror for Magistrates."

The contents are precisely the same as in the edition of 1571. In 1575 the so called "First Parte of the Mirror for Magistrates" was issued, the only variation from the first edition of 1574 being the addition of the "Legend of Irenglass and" eleven stanzas added to the "Legend of Nennius". The titles "First Parte" and "Last Parte" have reference only to the chronological order not to the order of composition.

The "Last Parte" was issued again in 1575, and the "First Parte" in 1578. No copies of the last named are known to be in existence, although Ritson makes a brief reference to it. (Bibliographia Poetica P. 243.)

The "Last Parte of the Mirror for Magistrates" was again published in 1578 with two additional Legends "Duchess of Gloucester" and "Plantagenet Duke of York", both of than written by Ferrars.

Still another edition appeared in this same year containing twelve Legends written by Thomas Blenerhasset, an army officer on duty in Guernsey Castle. He had written them during his leisure moments, with no further object in view, than to while away the abundance of time at his disposal; without the slightest intention of publishing them. He forwarded them, however, to a friend in London with apologies for the inaccuracy of the historical details; due to his inability to procure any of the Chronicles; saying, he was compelled to depend upon "Memory" and "Inquisition".

In spite of Blenerhassets request, the friend to whom be forwarded the Legends, published them under the title of:

"The Second Parte of the Mirror for Magistrates from the Conquest of Caesar until the Coming of William the Conqueror." Richard Webster, London, 1578, 72 Leaves.

A complete edition of all the Legends extant was published in 1587 by Henry Marshe. Twenty four new Legends were added by Higgins, and one each by Dingley and Churchyard. "The last to make additions to the Mirror for Magistrates" was Niccols, who published new editions in 1610, 1619, and 1621. Niccols own contributions were ten in number, purposely selected to fill in the gaps left by the previous contributors in the historical sequence; as the following title indicates "A Mirror for Magistrates being a true Chronicle Historie of the untimely follies of such unfortunates Princes and men of note as have happened since the first entrance of Brute into this Iland untill this our latter Age. Newly enlarged with a last part called a 'Winter's Night's Vision', being an addition of such tragedies especially famous as are exempted in the former Historie, with a poem annexed, called 'England's Eliza'. At London, imprinted by Felix Kyngston 1610."

The greater parter of the Volume consists of the productions of Baldwin, Higgins, Blenerhasset and minor contributors. Two of Blenerhasset's Legends are omitted "Guiderius" and "Alurede"; also "James I", by Baldwin; "James IV" and "Flodden Field" by Dingley; and "Duke of Gloucester" by Ferrars; that of "Lord Cromwell", by Drayton being added.

Although Niccols claims in his preface to have comprehended the original plan of the "M. for M." and places Sackville's "Induction" at the commencement of all the Legends; he has been without the

slightest compunction in changing anything in the original that did not satisfy his taste. He omitted entirely the connecting prose L'Envoy which made a unified whole and imparted to it the slight claim to originality it possessed. He did not scruple to substitute words, phrases, sentences; sometimes even whole stanzas of his own. It is true that his own personal contributions have a higher poetic value than those of the preceeding writers, exclusive of Sackville, for whom he had the highest appreciation; an appreciation, however, that did not prevent him interpolating stanzas of his own even into the "Induction".

Niccols utilizes a somewhat different method than any of the preceeding contributors in the introduction of his characters. Each Legend commences with an Argument, in which "Memory" recalls the person whose spirit appears. A second so called "Argument" follows, in which the spirit is commanded to proceed with the recital of his earthly misfortunes; which Niccols relates in the following Legend.

Higgins had varied somewhat from the original idea of the "M. for M."; preceeding his Legends with a poetic, instead of prose L'Envoy; and omitting all introductory matter before the Legends concerning the Roman emperors.

Blenerhasset also introduced a slight variation from the original L'Envoy; for he invents conversations supposed to take place between "Memory" and "Invention". Memory recalls the Names of distinguished but unfortunate people and "Invention" then supplies the material for the following Legend.

The most complete edition of the "Mirror for Magistrates" is that published by Haslewood in 1815: in which all the Legends published in previous editions are reprinted and arranged, without regard to time of production, in chronological order. In this he has undoubtedly followed the original intention of Baldwin and associates,

who carefully observed the order in the Chronicles and endeavored to follow the same in their arrangement of the Legends.

Haslewood restored all the introductory matter omitted by Niccols, and the changes made in the verses are carefully noted, but the Legends appear exactly as in the original copies.

Haslewood's Introduction gives a comprehensive outline of the development of the "M. for M." from which many valuable suggestions were taken in the preparation of this work.

Lydgates, "Falls of Princes".

Lydgates translation of Boccaccio's "De Casibus Virorum et Foeminarum Illustrium" was, as already stated, the book which the contributors to the "M. for M." took as the model to guide them in the preparation of their own work. Lydgate translated the prose of Boccaccio into English verse using as his medium the seven lined Chaucerian stanza, which the writers for the "M. for M." also adopted. In addition to the editions of Lydgates translation published by Pynson in 1494 and 1527; and by Tottell in 1554; Wayland also, in 1544, issued an edition, without any variation from those previously published, except that a "Table of Contents" was added referred to as follows.

"Here foloweth the Table of this presente Booke called tho fall of Princes and Princesses. Whiche boke is divyded in to nyne bokes and everye boke contayneth dyvers chapters, as hereafter foloweth and fyrst of the fyrste boke whiche contayneth XXIIII Chapters."

Lydgate's translation, however, in spite of the repeated reference to the original work of Boccaccio in the "M. for M." as the one Lydgate used, is not a direct translation from the original; but the translation of a translation. From Lyd-

gate's frequent reference to Laurent[1]) in the Prologue to his translation this fact becomes apparent. He copies Laurent in his method of translation, interpolating freely wherever his fancy dictated and in this way, many things not in the original are to be found in Lydgate's work. Laurent had made similar additions; but not nearly to the extent found in Lydgate. Both translators held that the changes were perfectly legitimate: for "..... artificers may change[2]) and turn by good discretion shapes and forms and newly them devise. So men of craft may, to make the good better change anything. Make old things seem new, make them more pleasing, more fresh and lusty to the eye." The nine books of the original are not very clearly divided; but regarding each paragraph as a chapter, there are in the nine books, one hundred and seventy four chapters, precisely the same number as found in Laurent's translations. Lydgate, however, has enlarged to such an extent that the total number of chapters equals two hundred and forty nine.

Whatever Lydgates intentions may have been, his efforts at improvement are dismal failures. He has used the Chaucerian stanza, but is very far from using it effectively. He drones along with wearying monotony to the end and even his method of narration has been borrowed by the contributors to the "M. for M."

In the "Falls of Princes" the lives of unfortunates selected from the Bible or from the histories of Greece and Rome are related, only one Briton, Arthur, being mentioned.

The "Mirror for Magistrates", was British; and while the characters dealt with, were not invariably British, the majority of them had some part in British history.

Chaucer in the "Monk's Tale" relates the doleful histories

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[1]) Laurent de Premierfait.

[2]) Prologue.

of a number of historical and mythical personages, which bears a close resemblance, in spirit at least, to the Legends of the "M. for M." But the knight interrupted the narration; neither he nor the company had any desire for the prolongation of such a melancholy series. On the other hand, the contributors to the "M. for M." continue to the end without departing from the sombre and gloomy and with a monotony only partially relieved by the single poetic gem in the entire collection, the "Induction" by Sackville.

General Information about the "Mirror for Magistrates".

In addition to Sackville there were thirteen contributors to the "M. for M." exclusive of Skelton, to whom the Legend of "Edward IV" is attributed. The spirit of the Legend, however, is extremely dolorous, markedly so even amongst a series of dolorous recitals: differing so much in this respect from the poems we know Skelton wrote, that it is impossible to credit him with a composition so lugubrious. In addition, there are contradictory statements in the L'Envoy preceeding the editions of 1559 and 1578. In the former, the writer says: ".... I have here a Legend written by maister Skelton the Tenour whereof so far as *I can remember* is as foloweth" But in the later edition this statement is entirely changed to tho following ".... In his name *the true copy* whereof as he wrote the same I have here to hand."

It is quite possible that the author had knowledge of a poem Skelton had written concerning Edward IV, which, however, is not found among Skelton's collected works. It is more probable, that the desire was to give distinction to a poor production by affixing the name of Skelton to it.

This is not the only Legend about which questions concerning the authorship might be raised; for Baldwin's signature is appended to but a single Legend, while twelve Legends in the edition of 1559 and two in the edition of 1563 are attributed to him by Haslewood. The authorship is questionable, but Haslewood's presumption is probably correct. Baldwin's activity as director, his assumption of "Bochas rome" where the ". . . wretched princes should complain unto me"; and the general recognition and acquiescence of the other contributors, as indicated in nearly all the Legends of the two first editions, of Baldwin as head and moving spirit in the venture, gives reasonable ground to suppose that he contributed largely to the original editions. In the Preface of the edition of 1563 Baldwin speaking of the contents of the new Volume says: "I have now set fourth another parte conteynynge as little of myne owne as the fyrst doth of other men's." This certainly indicates that a large part of the edition of 1559 was written by him; but no indication is given how many of the Legends he contributed. If there was any distinction of style the matter would present fewer difficulties; but excluding Sackville's productions the same dry monotony continues through ninety eight Legends. Like most of the contributors to the "M. for M." Baldwin had contributed to the literature of the period and in the printing house of Edward Whitchurche had gained practical knowledge of the printing press. It was while in the office of Whitchurche, London, that he published a book entitled "A Treatise of Morall Phylosophye contaynyng the Sayings of the Wyse." This appeared in 1547, and two years later "The Canticles or Balades of Solomon phraselyke declared in Englysh Metres", 1549, were printed and issued by Baldwin from Whitchurches printing office.

In 1560 he published the "Funerelles of Edward VI."; and in 1568 a humorous, satirical poem entitled "Beware the Cat". The authorship of this last composition was-

denied Baldwin until Collier pointed out in his "History of English Dramatic Poetry" that it was entered in Baldwin's name at the Stationer's Register.

It is noteworthy that Baldwin and the contributors to the early editions of the "Mirror for Magistrates" apparently limited themselves for reference to the Chronicles of Fabyan and Hall. It is not remarkable, however, for the Chronicle of Hall was restricted to the period out of which the characters for the earlier Legends were selected. With the exception of these two, no other Chronicles are mentioned by the early contributors; while reference is frequently made to Hall and Fabyan. For example when writing of Lord Gray ".... whom Fabian[1]) everywhere calleth the quene's brother. Hall calleth him the Queene's Sonne (as he was in very deede). Fabian saith he was governor of the prince and had the conveyance of him from Ludlow to London. The other (Halle) whome we followe. ... If by the way we touch anything concerning titles we followe therein Halle's Chronicle." Again Hall is mentioned as. "The[2]) Chronicle in this Werke we chiefly followed." Referring to the rivalry and quarrel between Lord Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, and Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford: "Halle maketh Mombray appellant and Bolingbroke defendant, whereas Fabian reporteth the matter quite contrary ... Contented with maister Halle's Judgement, which suiteth best for our purpose."

Comparison is made of the two Chroniclers in the statements "Unfruitful[3]) Fabian followed the face of Tyme and dedes, but let the causes slip. Which Halle hath added but with double grace". Both of the Chronicles omit the mention of the Duke of Exeter's death, which

[1]) Haslewood. Vol. 2. Pt. 3. P. 273.
[2]) Haslewood. Vol. 2. Pt. 3. P. 54.
[3]) Haslewood. Vol. 2. Pt. 3. P. 202.

omission is noted by Baldwin with the remark. "Maister[1]) Fabian hath not shewed and maister Halle hath skipped him."

In the relation of facts, little difference exists between the Chronicles; but while Fabyan for the most part, merely relates the historical incidents as they occurred; Hall has investigated causes and shewn how historical incidents developed out of them. His work is not the mere citation of facts; but is a serious attempt to write a legitimate History.

A single exception must be made to the statement that all the Legends were written concerning characters selected from the Chronicles for "The Ballad of Flodden Field" which is incongruously inserted among the Legends of this period, had an entirely independant source, as is learned from the L'Envoy. It was transcribed from an ancient manuscript in the author's (Dingley's) possession. It was ". . . past mending he is too old . . . . It was pende about 50 years agone or shortly after the death of the sayd king (James IV.). The verse was altered to correspond with the general plan of the "M. for M.": but; ". . . . the history remains the same."

Mr. Henry Weber editor of the 1808 edition of the so called "Ponce Ballad" containing "The Famous History or Ballad of Flodden Field", taken from an MS. transcribed by Richard Grey; a schoolmaster of Ingelton, Yorkshire: states, that the only MS. of the Ballad he edited, is dated about 1636 and adds; "There is no doubt it was printed in the preceeding century for it occurs in the 1587 edition of the 'M. for M.'". The statement, however, is entirely misleading, for the "Ballad of Flodden Field" in the "M. for M." bears not the slightest resemblance to the "Ponce Ballad", which consists of five hundred and seventy nine

[1]) Hasl. Vol. 2. Pt. 3. P. 225.

quatrains, divided into nine "Fittes"; while the Ballad rewritten by Dingley has only twenty seven stanzas, and is merely a brief narration of the result of the battle. The condition of the copy of the MS. in Dingley's possession would indicate that the original MS. of the Ballad printed in the "M. for M." was shortly afterwards completely destroyed. An edition of the "Ponce Ballad" was published in London 1884, by Charles W. Federer, whose opinion apparently coincides with Weber's for there is a repetition of the same misleading statement. Federer has undoubtedly republished without investigation; for even a casual comparison of the two Ballads would shew their utter dissimilarity.

One group of Legends published in the "M. for M." is an indiscriminate mixture, in so far as the historical matter is concerned; for the author, Thomas Blenerhasset, relied exclusively upon "Memory" for his facts, supplying his deficiencies and short comings in that respect by the aid of "Invention". Blenerhasset had undoubtedly been a diligent reader of the Chronicles before being sent with his regiment to Guernsey; but when he undertook to write his twelve Legends, historical facts and characters had become inextricably mixed together and the result becomes apparent in the Legends, which are entirely unreliable from an historical standpoint.

John Higgins, on the other hand, states very clearly the Chronicles he used in the compilation of his Legends. In addition to the at that time, popular Chronicles of Grafton, Lanquet and[1]) Stowe: which ".... were nearly always of one opinion .... Some help I had from an old Chronicle printed in 1515". This is probably a reference to the edition of Wynkyn de Worde's "Fructus Fructorum", printed in that year. Godfrey of Monmouth's History was

[1]) Preface to edition of 1574.

also utilized and another ". . . in a sort of English verse." A reference to John Hardyng's Chronicle.

Higgins was by far the most prolific of the writers to the "M. for M."; contributing in all forty Legends. The first group of sixteen were published in 1574 and commence with Albanact, son of Brute, concluding with Nennius; mortally wounded by Caesar during the Roman invasion of Britain.

Higgins final contribution of twenty four Legends appeared in 1587. For the most part they relate the misfortunes of the Roman Emperors; but not invariably so, for several Legends treat of the unfortunate destinies of British Kings, and one Legend was written about Nicholas Burdett, a comparatively modern character of whom he wrote; "I was willed my maisters to bring Sir Nicholas Burdett unto you, by maister Holinshed." Evidently for this later edition Higgins had used the compendious Chronicle published by Holinshed ten years previously. For the Legends that deal with British History, at least, this is true; but "Polychronicon", or Lanquet's Chronicle, supplied material for the incidents related of the Roman Emperors. These are general Histories or Chronicles but Holinshed treats of subjects and individuals that have particular bearing upon English history and while reference is frequently made to Roman Emperors, it is only in connection with the acts performed in Britain.

Holinshed's Chronicle superseded all other Chronicles within a few years of its publication. No fewer than one hundred and sixty eight Chronicles and MSS. had been used in its compilation and these included all that the contributors to the "M. for M." had referred to as books of reference.

When Niccols published his edition in 1610; this great work of Holinshed was ready to his hand and the historical incidents related are easily traceable: although much of the material he introduced into his ten Legends is to be

found in the Legends of previous contributors to the "M. for M."

Segar had written a Legend of Richard III. Blenerhasset one concerning Alfred; and the historical details of the lives of the young princes Edward V, and his brother Richard; related by Niccols, are all to be found in the Legends of "Hastings", by Dolman; "Buckingham", by Sackville; "Lord Rivers", and "Duke of Clarence", by Baldwin.

The two poems published by Niccols in his editions of the "M. for M." "England's Eliza" and "Winter Night's Vision" do not belong there. Niccols original intention had been to print them separately; but he was persuaded by the printer to publish them with the Legends. Next to the "Induction" the "Winters Night's Vision" is the best piece of poetry in the "M. for M." Like the "Induction", however, and unlike the Legends; it is the product of the poets imagination, not the versifying of a number of historical incidents. Visiting the old home of Elizabeth at Windsor the poet falls asleep in the queen's favorite walk and she appears to him in a dream, which is described in the poem, where Niccols sings in praise of the many charms of mind and superior excellencies Elizabeth possessed.

None of the Legends in the "M. for M." make pretence of relating the entire life history of the characters they treat of; but only such incidents in each life as had direct or indirect influence upon their downfall.

Sackville has followed this general rule in his Legend of Buckingham. The period in which Buckingham lived was the period from which Baldwin and his associates selected their characters; and, as remarked, the Chronicles of Hall and Fabyan were the sources for their historical material.

The editions of the Chronicles referred to for purposes of comparison are those of Hall, issued 1809, and Fabyan 1811. Hall's Chronicle being, "carefully collated with the

editions of 1548 and 1550. Printed in London for J. Johnson; F. C., and J. Rivington; T. Payne; Wilkie, Robinson, Longman, Hurst, Ries, Orme, Cadell, Davies and J. Mawman."

Fabyan's Chronicle was reprinted for the same company of men, from Pynson's edition of 1516 "collated with the editions of 1533, 1542, 1559 and with an MS. of the author's own time .... to which are added a biographical and literary Preface by Henry Ellis."

Hardyng's, Grafton's and Stowe's Chronicles were all reprinted by this company between the years 1808—1812 with such changes as had taken place in the different editions added to the original.

Biographical Sketch of Sackville, and the Sources of his Contributions to the "Mirror for Magistrates".

Biographical Sketch.

Thomas Sackville was the descendant of a long line of distinguished ancestors, who from the time of William the Conqueror had occupied with distinction and credit places of honor in the council and Government of Great Britain. None of them, however, attained so great a measure of renown as the subject of this chapter. Not only was he the most distinguished statesman of his time; but his contributions to English poetry include a classic gem, that is given, a place and deserves to rank amongst the best in English Literature.

There is little reliable information concerning the early education of Sackville; although Dr. Abbot in his[1]) funeral sermon stated, that he shewed signs of genius and future greatness even during his childhood. It may be taken for

[1]) P. 18.

granted that his education was carefully superintended by his father, Sir Richard Sackville; for the latter displayed a considerable and intimate knowledge of pedagogical matters, as is evinced in an interesting conversation reported by Roger Ascham in the Preface to his "The Scholemaster" (1571). The conversation was held concerning the education of Richard Sackville's grandson Robert, for whom "The Scholemaster" was written, and betrays a keen and comprehensive interest in the education of a child.

There is considerable uncertainty regarding the year of Sackville's birth; some writers of literary history say 1536; others 1527. There can be no doubt, however, that 1536 is correct. Dr. Abbot who preached the funeral sermon when Sackville was buried, said; the dead statesman was[1]) seventy two years old. As he died in 1608 it is evident the year of his birth was 1536.

A so called "Inquisition was taken upon the death of Sackville's father (April 21. 1566) in Southwark; which is a further proof that Sackville was born in 1536. This "Inquisition" (Harleien MS. 757, Folio 127) reads as follows.

Inq. c. op. Southwark, 10 May, 9 Eliz.

Rici Sackville mil = Wenefrida

Thomas Sackville fil et heres est etat 29 Ann.

Sir Egerton Brydges in his "Memoirs of the Peers of England", p. 443, refers to this "Inquisition" but gives the date of the elder Sackville's death as 1556. This is, however, clearly impossible; for Ascham reports the conversation he had with Richard Sackville as taking place in 1563 at the conclusion of a party given by Sir William Cecil.

Sackville entered Oxford when fifteen or sixteen years

[1]) P. 16.

of age; but was in residence only a short time, long enough, however, to establish somewhat of a reputation as a versifier.

Milles in his "Catalogue of Honor", P. 412, says: "He left many of his labors in Latin and English to the world which remain as memorable praises to all posterity."

Jaspar Heywood in his Translation of Seneca's "Thyestes" 1560 mentions Sackville's early productions in the words: "There Sackvylle's sonnets sweetly sauste and featly fyned bee." None of these are in existence, although Sackville-West in his "Biographical[1]) Memoir" of Sackville publishes a Sonnet which was prefixed to Holeys Translation of the "Courtier" of Count Baldessar Castilio; 1561, and suggests it was probably from the pen of Sackville, but advances no reason why it should be considered so.

Later Sackville went to Cambridge and there took the degree of M. A. Following the custom of the period he studied law in the Temple upon the completion of his University career. In 1557 he married Cicely, daughter of Sir John Baker a Privy Councellor of Sissinghurst, Kent; and about the same was elected member of Parliament for the county of Westmoreland, and also of E. Grimstead in Sussex. Reelected in 1558—9 he commenced active participation in parliamentary affairs, introducing several bills before the House.

About this time cooperating with Thomas Norton he wrote the Tragedy of "Ferrex and Porrex" which was performed at Whitehall, January 18. 1561; upon request of the Queen by the gentlemen of the Temple, and four years later was published in a very much corrupted form. Whatever is excellent in the Tragedy came from the pen of Sackville; for as Worton says: "Thomas[2]) Norton's poetry is of a very different and a subordinate cast, and, if we may judge from his share in our metrical Psalmody, he seems to have been more qualified to shine in the miserable

[1]) P. 8.

[2]) Vol. 3. Sect. 56. PP. 301—2.

mediocrity of Sternhold's stanza, and to spiritual rhymes for the solace of his illuminated brethren; than to reach the bold and impassioned elevation of Tragedy."

With the writing of the "Induction" and the Legend of Buckingham, Sackville's literary labors unfortunately were brought to a close and henceforth he devoted his energies to the service of his Queen and relative Elizabeth. (Sackville's grandmother Margaret, was the daughter of Sir William Boleyn, and aunt to Anne Boleyn, the mother of Elizabeth.)

Sackville's political activity now commenced and continued unto the day of his death. In 1563 he was elected Member of Parliament for Aylesbury, in Buckinghamshire, and was busily engaged about the court; a fact he refers to in his will. "I received from her Majesty many special graces and favors as in my younger days being by her particular choice and liking selected to a continual private attendance on her person."

He undertook journeys to France and Italy, and while in Rome was detained fourteen days as a prisoner for some unknown reason: Although Dr. Abbot in his funeral sermon says "The trouble was brought upon him for love of religion and sovereign."

He inherited enormous wealth upon the death of his father and assumed his position as head of the house.

A successful embassy to France, in which he took prominent part; led the Queen to entrust him with many important commissions, all of which, with a single exception, he performed in such a manner as to win Elizabeth's approbation. The exception was the adverse report he presented of Leicester's conduct of the war in the Netherlands. He incurred the Queen's displeasure by his arraignment of her favourite and was kept a prisoner in his own house for nearly a year.

In 1572 he was one of the Peers who sat in judgement upon Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, for his complicity

with Mary, Queen of Scotland; and, later, was the one appointed to convey to Mary the news of her death sentence. His unfailing tact and courtesy, in spite of the terrible nature of his errand, won Mary's regard and as a token of her esteem, she presented him with a piece of valuable furniture from her private chapel.

Honors now crowded upon him; for he was elected Chancellor of Oxford University in 1591 and a few years later became High Treasurer of England. In this exalted position, his vigilence frustrated the efforts of the rapidly growing Puritan party to stir up a rebellion and for participation in this attempt he secured the execution of the Earls of Essex and Southampton.

Elizabeth died in 1603; but James confirmed Sackville in his offices and in the following year created him Earl of Dorset.

The remaining years of Sackville's life were devoted with zeal and energy to the affairs of state, until, suddenly, while sitting in the Council Chamber, on the nineteenth of April, 1608, he expired.

Sources of Sackville's Contributions.

In the edition of the "M. for M." for 1559 to which Sackville was not a contributor there is no attempt made to deviate from the plan adopted by Boccaccio. It was carried to such an extent indeed that Baldwin usurped; "Boccaccio's rome .... and the wretched princes complain unto me: and took upon himself every man for his own part to be sundry personages and in theyr behalfs to bewaile unto me theyr grevous chances, heavy destinies, and wofull misfortunes."

There is little or no attempt at poetic excellance in any of these earlier Legends, the authors being well content to regard their productions as part of a fixed plan,

that allowed no shadow of turning to freer and more imaginative composition. It is also probably quite true, that the majority of them were incapable of producing anything of superior excellance.

Sackville on the other hand possessed far finer susceptibilities, truer poetic instinct, and the power of depicting with vivid imagery and in exquisite verse, the thoughts that inspired him to write.

The Legends had at the beginning a moral object in view, they represent the protest of a body of earnest men against injustice, oppression and evil doing. Society was in a wretched state, revolts, murders, beheadings and treason; as well as the unsettled state of religion, kept the country in continual ferment.

A few years previous to the publication of the "M. for M." similar political, social and religious conditions in Scotland had inspired the Scotch poets Douglas and Lyndsay to utter vigorous protests in verse against the abuses by those in power.

Lyndsay had furnished a precedent for the reforming principles of the "M. for M." by the publication of his "Monarchie". All his writings had for their object the attempt to expose and reform abuses, whether in church or state. Lyndsay was not a genius; but he probably surpassed any of the Scotch poets in dramatic power. He was satirical and had the saving quality of humor, which is a negligable quality in the "M. for M." and perhaps more powerfully than any other, he had the fine feeling for and appreciation of the beauties of nature.

In his poem the "Dreme" Lyndsay follows closely in the footsteps of[1]) his master Chaucer and both undoubtedly influenced Sackville in the composition of his "Induction". Instead, however, of the relation of supposed personal experiences as is found in the Induction Lyndsay adapts

[1]) Hous of Fame.

the common device of a Dream. He falls asleep in a cave and in the Dream which ensues he encounters Dame Remembrance and under her guidance passes into hell and sees there Popes and Emperors, and out of this experience he makes a sort of precis of Dante's "Inferno". Unlike Sackville he leaves Hell by way of Limbo and Purgatory, passes to the planets and from there to the Crystaline Heaven where he sees God surrounded by the nine orders of the Celestial Hierarchy; then to earth and earthly Paradise. Gawin Douglas utilizes a somewhat similar device in his "Palace of Honor". Instead, however, of the ordinary Dream, he falls in a swoon and has a remarkable vision, where he is transported into a desert, through which rushes a hideous flood. Here he begins to complain of the cruelty of Fortune in leading him to such a dreadful place; when suddenly the goddess Minerva appears with attendants. After their departure appear Achitophel and Sinon, and the latter informs the poet they are going to the "Palace of Honor." They pass on and Venus appears; whose matchless beauty the poet describes in eloquent terms. A train of lovers follow, who recite the inconstancy of love, after which, a court is called and Douglas is accused of maligning Venus and found guilty. The Court of Muses appears and Calliope sets the poet free for writing a short Ballad more lively than is his wont. He goes around the world with the Muses and from the summit of a hill beholds the wickedness of the world, and on the way, sees a deep abyss full of fire and brimstone and dead bodies. Finally the "Palace of Honor" is reached and here he sees Venus seated on a throne holding a Mirror wherein she could see the sins of everyone. After being presented with a book to translate ("Aeneid"), he is conducted through the palace by a nymph and beholds all its wonders.

Many of the pictures Douglas draws of his journey are borrowed from Chaucer's Allegory "The Haus of Fame", although he adopts the device of a swoon while Chaucer

uses the more usual method of a "Dream". Douglas's poem however, in spite of this apparent reliance upon the older poet is entirely original in verse and arrangement.

Sackville does not follow the usual method of the "Dream" as used by Chaucer and Lyndsay nor the slight variation adopted by Douglas; but invents the personification of Sorrow; who appears to him in the midst of winter's desolation. The ideal scenery he describes, however, and his manner of associating the phenomena of Nature with mournful events; such as form the subject of his poem, he seems to have borrowed from Douglas although there is entire originality in his method of producing the borrowed materials.

Sackville's "Induction" opens with a vivid description of the devastating effects of Winter upon Nature.

"Hawthorn had lost his motly livery,
The naked twigs were shivering all for cold
And dropping down the tears abundantly.
Each thing, with weeping eye me told
The cruel season bidding me withold
Myself within, for I was gotten out
Into the fields, whereas I walked about."

Douglas has prefixed a very impressive description of winter to the seventh book of his translation of the "Aeneid", which evidently inspired Sackville with the fine opening stanzas of the Induction; although Sackville's versification is free from the harshness of the Scotch poet and is written in excellent English, while the Scotch poet has written in the rather uncouth Scotch dialect of the period.

It was night as Sackville wandered in the fields, sorrowing over the destruction of so much that was beautiful in the world: a destruction that represented to him the mutability and ultimate dissolution of every living thing.

Filled with these gloomy thoughts, he is about to retrace his steps, pondering how he shall warn the Princes

of the earth of the falls of their predecessors; when he is arrested by the appearance of a wretched being clothed in black.

"Her body small, forewithered and foresprent
As to the stalk that summer's drought oppressed,
Her welked face with woeful tears besprent,
Her color pale; and, as it seemed her best.
In woe and plaint reposed were her rest;
And as the stone that drops of water wears,
So dented were her cheeks with fall of tears.

Her eyes swollen with flowing stream afloat;
Wherewith, her looks thrown up full piteously,
Her forceless hands together oft she smote,
With doleful shrieks that echoed in the sky;
Whose plaint such sighs did straight accompany,
That in my doom was never man may see,
A wight but half so woe begone as she."

Sackville was to be guided by this melancholy figure into the very gates af hell; just as Dante had been led by his great teacher Virgil; and as the Sibyl had lead the old warrior Aeneas.

In the case of Dante and Sackville a personal visitation is assumed to have been made by the poets; and in this lies the strongest point of comparison between the "Induction" and Dante's "Hell". Much of the scenery in both has resemblance; but both have borrowed from Virgil very extensively in this respect.

The conditions under which each wrote are very different however. Virgil describes the adventures of a pagan hero who in the course of his restless wanderings pays a visit to the lower regions. The standpoint of the poet, as he describes the journey hellward, is that af a pagan poet, he describes that which he believed existed. Dante on the other hand had been wandering in forbidden paths. Morally without guidance, he relates the story of

his conversion in the "Divina Commedia". His descriptions are allegorical presentations of the various transitions through which he mentally and spiritually passed. The gloomy forest in which he found himself when half the allotted course of his life was run, typifies the condition of mental despondency in which he lived and the impossibility of finding a way out.

Sackville was in a similar condition of mind: but it was not the result of doubts and questionings concerning himself; it was because of the insecurity of his country and the dreadful experiences through which it had passed.

When Dante wrote the "Divina Commedia", his conversion had been completed, and mentally and spiritually at peace he interprets into the great poem the experiences he had passed through before attaining this condition. The symbolic forms[1] that Dante encountered in the wood: the leopard, the lion and the she-wolf represent the three types of moral evil, that hindered him in his forward progress: love of sensuous beauty; pride; and greed. No matter in whatever direction he turns these three forms block his path, until the shade of Virgil[2] appears and promises to be his guide so far as it was allowed him.

Natural feelings of terror, such as[3] those described by both Virgil and Sackville, call forth a reproof from Virgil; who tells him that he has been requested to guide Dante by a lady (Beatrice). This knowledge inspires Dante and he passes forward through the gates of hell with his guide.

They ultimately enter the region[4] of the lost, within range of the terrifying groans and moans of the damned. Acheron is reached at[5] length and they are warned by the old boatman Charon to return: But being assured by Virgil, he allows them to draw near and observe the crowd waiting

[1] Canto 1. 25—50.
[2] Canto 2. 45.
[3] Canto 2. 52—74.
[4] Canto 3. 1—63.
[5] Canto 3. 82.

for transportation to the other side. A flash of lightening occurs at this juncture; which causes Dante to fall unconcious: out of which[1] condition he is aroused by a peal of thunder, to find that the difficulty of transportation has been dispensed with, for he is safely on the other side.

This may have been a poetic device to evade the difficulty of crossing Acheron in Charon's boat, but it is a device neither Sackville nor Virgil attempt to utilize. In fact the points of similarity between Sackville's "Induction" and Dante's "Hell" are very slight. It is true that like Dante the journey to hell is described as from the standpoint of personal experience by Sackville. Dante's intention is to describe allegorically the struggles of a mind to free itself from the trammels that bound it to earth and earthly pleasures.

Sackville adopted the same idea of a journey into hell, to give reality to the series of Legends he intended to write. They were to be warnings to people in power, a mirror wherein could be seen, how, through weakness and wickedness, peers and princes had met their pitiable end

Dante portrays his feelings in his description of the way into hell. Sackville has borrowed the material used and invested it with new life. It is not from Dante, however, that he has borrowed, but from the older poet Virgil; to what extent will now be shown.

Aeneas in the course of his wanderings had reached the Eubean shore and there seeks the Sibyl to whom he imparts his desire to visit his father in the realm of shades and beseeches her assistance in his effort. He is informed that in spite of the many dangers he had undergone still worse were to follow. To this Aeneas makes reply that no sort of danger can arise against him unexpectedly: but before these worse perils arrive he has one request to make.[2]

[1] Canto 3. 134.
[2] Ae. VI. 103—9.

"Ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora contingat, doceas iter et sacra astia pandas." To which the Sibyl makes reply . . . . . "facilio[1]) descensus Averno . . . . sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras, hoc opus, his labor est."

Is Aeneas willing to undergo all[2]) the perils of the way; to thread the gloomy forest, mentioned by Dante and Sackville; to twice cross and look upon the Stygian waters! If he is willing to undergo all these perils, then he must seek the golden branch consecrated to subterranean Juno, which will loosen to his hand if he is called by Fate to undertake the journey.

Guided by his mother's doves he[3]) obtains the branch and prepared to descend into the lower regions. From this point on, the journey of Sackville and of Aeneas are almost parallel. Sackville was led by[4]) Sorrow into a dark and dismal wood where there was "a rumbling roar confused with howl and bark" making such a frightful din that,

> "As half distraught unto the ground I fell.
> Besought return and not to visit hell."

But "Sorrow" raises him up and encourages him to remain steadfast for now opens wide.

> "An hideous hole all vast withouten shape
> Of endless depth o'erwhelmned with ragged stone,
> With ugly mouth and grisly jaws that gape
> And to our sight confounds itself in one;
> Here entered we and yeding forth, anon
> A horrible loathly lake we did discern;
> As black as pitch that cleped is Avern
> A deadly gulf where nought but rubbish grows,

[1]) Ae. VI. 128—9.
[2]) Ae. VI. 126—9.
[3]) Ae. VI. 190—210.
[4]) Hasl. Vol. 2. Pt. 3. P. 217.

With foul black swelth in thickened lumps that lies
Which up in th'air such stinking vapors throws
That over there may fly no fowle but dies.
Choked with the pestilent vapors that arise."

Aeneas passed through this cavern also as we learn.

"Spelunca alta fuit vastoque inmanis hiatu[1]),
Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
Quam super haud ullae poterant inpune volantes
Tendere iter pennis: Talis sese halitus atris
Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat."

Encouraged by the Sibyl, Aeneas draws his sword and advances boldly.

"Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram[2])
Perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna:
Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
Juppiter et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem."

Finally the outer portal of hell is reached; here are Sorrow and vengeful Care, pale[3]) Disease and weary Age, Fear, Hunger, Poverty, Death, Misery and Sleep the brother of Death; the guilty passions of the heart, War and frantic Discord.

These are Personifications to which Dante makes no reference whatsoever. Sackville[4]), however, has mentioned them with others belonging to Catholic Theology and describes their appearance in some of the most vivid versification in the Induction. Virgil has merely given them a passing reference; but Sackville has devoted his attention to them in a series of striking pictures chief among which is the Figure of "Old Age."

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[1]) Ae. VI. 236—241.
[2]) Ae. VI. 268—272.
[3]) Ae. VI. 272—280.
[4]) Hasl. Vol. 2. Pt. 3. PP. 318—325.

"His head all hoar, his eyes hollow and blind,
Crooked backed he was, tooth shaken and bleareyed,
Went on three feet and sometimes crept on four,
With old lame bones, that rattled by his side.
His scalp all pilled and he with eld forbore:
His withered feet still knocking at Death's door
Fumbling and drivelling as he draws his breath
For brief the messenger and Shape of Death."

It was difficult for the poet to turn his eyes from there dreadful sights; but this he was ultimately enabled to do, and with his guide passed on to the verge of Acheron.

"..... A loathsome lake to tell[1])
That boils and bubbles up with swelth as black
as hell.
Where grisly Charon at their fixed tide
Still ferries ghosts unto the farther side."

This is little more than a free translation of Vergil's description of the same scene.

"Turbidus hic caeno vastoque voragine gurges[2])
Aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.
Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
Terribili squalore Charon; cui plurima mento
Canities inculta jacet stant lumina flamma,
Sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus."

There is no attempt to evade the difficulty of crossing the Styx by either Virgil or Sackville as we find in Dante's "Hell". Charon threatens in each case; but the sight of the golden branch exhibited by Aeneas calms his rage, and the presence of Sorrow with Sackville brings Charon at once to the shore, where, driving every one else out of the boat, he takes Sackville and his guide as passengers.

Sackville's description of the passage does not vary

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[1]) Hasl. Vol. 2. Pt. 3. P. 323.
[2]) Ae. VI. 296—301.

in the least from that of the older poet. No sooner has the human freight embarked in the rusty old boat than it sinks to the edge with the unaccustomed weight; the seams are opened and there seems to be danger of sinking; but Charon hoists the sail and they pass in safety.

Virgil describes the passage as follows

".... simul accipit alveo[1]) Ingentem Aeneam.
Gemuit sub pondere cymba.
Sutilis et multam accepit rimosa paludem.
Tandem trans fluvium incolumis vatemque virumque
Informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva."

The passage safely accomplished, both Aeneas and Sackville come directly into contact with the beast Cerberus. The Sibyl pacifies him with a drugged cake enabling Aeneas to pass in safety; but again the presence of Sorrow with Sackville is sufficient; for they are allowed to pass without molestation and at length Sackville is within the realms of Pluto; where babes whined; unwedded maids mourned their mischance; the guiltless slain wept.

Here the travellers stood until Sorrow raising her hands, cried aloud; while the swarm of spirits attracted by her shrieking gather round.

"Lo here, quoth Sorrow princes of renown
That whilom set on top fortunes wheel,
Now laid full low: like of wretches whirled down.
Ev'n with one frown that stay'd but with a smile;
And now behold that thou erewhile,
Saw only in thought, and what thou now shalt hear,
Recount the same to kesar, king and peer."

Each of these, according to the plan Sackville had designed for himself, was to relate the story of his undoing for the benefit of the peers and princes who still lived, and first came Henry, Duke of Buckingham, who, choked by his emotions is unable to commence his sad history.

[1]) Ae. VI. 413—416.

Finally, however, he is able to control his almost overpowering feelings and commences the recital of his woes.

Unfortunately for the poetic value of the "M. for M." the pressure of state duties prohibited Sackville from further participation in the production of the book, after the completion of the Induction and this Legend of Buckingham. Measured by the "Induction" the loss was inestimable; but on the other hand the very form of the Legends, rightly called "Complaints", prevented the free play of poetic fantasy. The recital of historical detail reacted upon the character of the poetry; upon Sackville's Legend of Buckingham, as well as upon the Legends of the less distinguished contributors. There is more stiffness and formality in the verse and only rarely does the poet indulge in any flights of fancy. When Sackville permits himself to wander from the dry, matter of fact, historical narration; we have all the vivid imagery so characteristic of the "Induction". This is particularly the case when the peace and restfulness of midnight are described in stanzas, that compare favorably with anything in the "Induction" in poetic beauty.

"Midnight was come, and every vital thing[1])
With sweet sound sleep their weary limbs did rest
The beasts were still, the little birds that sing
Now sweetly slept besides their mother's breast,
The old and all well shrouded in their nest;
The waters calm, the cruel seas did cease,
The woods, the fields and all things held their peace.

The golden stars were whirl'd amid their race,
And on the earth did with their twinkling light
When each thing nestled in his resting place,
Forgot day's pain with pleasure of the night:
The hare had not the greedy hounds in sight,

[1]) Hasl. Vol. 2. Pt. 3. P. 354.

The fearful deer of death stood not in doubt,
The partridge dreamt not of the falcon's foot.

The ugly bear now minded not the stake,
Nor how the cruel mastiffs do him tear,
The stag lay still unroused from the brake,
The foamy boar fear'd not the hunter's spear:
All thing was still in desert, bush and briar
With quiet heart now from their travails ceas'd
Soundly they slept in midst of all their rest."

In general, however, there is a close observance of the historical details of Buckingham's life and death as related in the Chronicles of Hall and Fabyan; without digression into the realm of imaginative poetry.

Buckingham's participation in the plots of Richard III for the crown is related. Their first deed[1]) of violence was the capture of the young King from his uncle Rivers and the execution in Pomfret Castle of the knights who had accompanied him. It was Buckingham who instigated Dr. Shaa to preach a[2]) sermon pronouncing the illegitimacy of the children of Edward IV. He tried to induce the Burgesses of London to shew enthusiasm when Richard was nominated King after the young princes had been disposed of; presumably at the instance of Richard.

No sooner was Richard established on[3]) the throne than he began to remove from power those whom he suspected of evil against his person. According to the Legend and Hall's Chronicle, Buckingham became an object of the king's suspicions and irritated, either by this, or because the king had not recognized in a fitting manner the services he had rendered him, the Duke rebelled against Richard's authority. He was defeated, however, and his men left him to be hunted like a dog by the king's troops. He appealed to Humphrey Banastre for assistance and temporary protection; but Banastre a

[1]) Hall. P. 350.
[2]) Hall. P. 369—371.
[3]) Hall. P. 381—2.

man whom he had raised from a lowly estate to a position of affluence and the condition of a gentleman; not only refused him assistance, but for the sake of the reward betrayed him to the king's officers. Buckingham was executed and his shade relates these incidents with bitter wailing and complaining against "Fortune".

It is not improbable, as Hall[1]) suggests, that Richard had made promises to Buckingham which, as soon as he was secure on the throne he refused to acknowledge and this caused Buckingham's rebellion.

Hall relates how the members of[2]) Banastre's family were stricken because of the father's treachery. The eldest son went mad and died in a pig stye; the daughter became a leper; the second son grew "marvellously deformed"; and his youngest son was drowned in a small puddle.

These frightful afflictions, probably[3]) more superstition than reality, are utilized by Sackville in the Legend of Buckingham; where he makes the shade utter curses against Banastre and his entire family, calling down punishment such as the Chronicle says they suffered.

Conclusion.

In all probability acquaintance with and knowledge of the "M. for M." would have been limited to comparatively few readers of English literature in these modern times were it not for the single redeeming poem by Sackville. The entire work was saved from oblivion by the genius of one contributor. But aside from Sackville's contributions, the "M. for M." was of great practical value to the Dramatists of the Elizabethen era. It is difficult to say with assurance that Shakespeare used the book

[1]) P. 382.
[2]) PP. 394—395.
[3]) Vol. 2. Pt. 3. PP. 359 - 361.

when writing his Dramas, because the same historical facts are found in the Chronicles. But it is reasonable to suppose that he preferred to find his material where the facts were concrete and consecutive, without finding it necessary to abstract them from perhaps a hundred or more pages of a Chronicle.

The similarity of portions of the Legends, with scenes from Shakespeare's historical Dramas, suggests plagiarism, touched by kingly genius.

That the work was extremely popular is evinced by the number of editions issued. The Legends were in reality history in popular and simple form. The Chronicles are not simple from the standpoint of form; they are rather inclined to aimlessness and circumlocution in style of narration. No wonder that a series of simple recitals were welcomed by the reading public, no matter if they were lugubrious and pessimistic. The authors had something to say and said it simply and directly.

The language shows development out of the period immediately preceeding, — the period of Wyatt and Surrey — This is most strongly marked in Sackville's contributions, and not only in the language, but also in the literary worth of his productions does he stand supreme in the period from Chaucer to Spenser. It may be reasonably questioned if he can be compared with Spenser, Shakspeare and Marlowe in lofty, sustained diction; as Robert Anderson asserts in his "Poets of Great Britain" Vol. 1, P. 651, yet it must be acknowledged that judged by his "Induction" he ranks amongst the greatest poets the English language has known. Appreciation of his work is not limited to the present day for the writers of his own time recognized in him an author of genius: a general appreciation, which Spenser expresses in the following sonnet; sent by the author with a presentation copy of the "Faery Queen" to Sackville.

"In vaine I think, right honorable lord,
By this rude rime to memorize they name;
Whose learned muse hath writ her owne record
In golden verse worthy immortal fane;
Thou much more fit (were leisure to the same)
Thy gracious sovereignes praises to compile,
And her imperial Majestie to frame
In lofty numbers and heroick style.
But sith thou maist not so give leave awhile
To baser wit, his power therein to spend,
Whose grosse defaults thy daintee pen may file
And unadvised oversights amend
But evermore vouchsafe it to maintaine
Against vile Zöylus backbitings vaine."

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Vita.

I, James Davies, Protestant, was born in Stockport, Cheshire, England, on the 17th of April 1872. I received my early education in England, but went to Montreal, Canada when seventeen years of age. A year later, however, I left Canada for the United States, and shortly afterwards recommenced my studies at Willraham Academy, Massachusetts. Matriculating at Boston University, I subsequently, received there the Degrees of Bachelor of Philosophy, and Master of Arts. After teaching two years in Bourne, Massachusetts; I came to Germany and matriculated at the Leipzig University; where, since April, 1905, I have been Lector and Assistent in the English Department under Professor Wülker. I have attended the lectures of Professors Wülker, Köster, Sievers, Volkelt, Witkowski, Hirt, Holz and Mogk; and have been a member of the English Seminar, conducted by Prof. Wülker; of the Pedagogical Seminar, under Prof. Volkelt; and of the Proseminars conducted by Professors Köster, Sievers and von Bahder. To all of these gentlemen I wish to express my sincerest thanks; but more particularly to Geheimrat Prof. Dr. Wülker, for the invariable kindness and courtesy with which he has treated me, both in my personal relations as his assistent, and as an appreciative student.